

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VII. No. 11.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1805.

[PRICE 10D.]

"Mr. CANNING said" (debate of 18th June, 1804): "I objected to the administration of foreign affairs, and that has been changed.—Mr. PITT said" (debate of 6th March, 1805): "A change did, no doubt take place in the ministry; but, that change was made with the entire free-will of the noble lord (Hawkesbury), and could never have been proposed upon any other ground."

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## DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA LEGISLATURE. — *Resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, relative to the Governor's Speech at the preceding prorogation — Dated 12 December, 1804. (N. B. The Speech of the Governor here animadverted on will be found in the Register, Vol. V. p. 397.)*

Report made from the committee appointed to take into consideration his honour the lieut. governor's speech at the last prorogation, to search into precedents, and to report the same, with their opinion of the measures proper to be adopted by the House in consequence thereof, stating that they had proceeded to take the said speech into their most serious consideration; that, from the period of the revolution, when the rights and privileges of the respective branches of the legislature were more accurately ascertained than in remote and turbulent times, the committee have carefully searched the records of parliament, and can find no instance of a minister having ventured to suggest to the sovereign a speech animadverting on the proceedings of either House of Parliament. The addresses of his present most sacred majesty in particular have ever been most gracious, worthy of the exalted virtue which has endeared him to all his subjects, and dictated by a sacred respect for the principles of freedom, which have been uniformly displayed by the illustrious princes of the House of Brunswick on the British throne: the committee have also searched the Journals of this House, and find that, from the year 1679-80, when the political constitution of this island may be considered to have been settled, there have been few attempts to encroach on the liberties of the people, or abridge the privileges of their representatives; and none but what have been vigilantly attended to and firmly resisted by the House of Assembly: it is with the deepest regret that the committee feel themselves under the necessity of giving their opinion that the speech referred to their consideration is a breach of the privileges of this House, which, if submitted to, might be drawn into precedent, and lead to the most fatal consequences; it contains not only direct animadversions on the proceedings of

the House, but on the particular subject which the Commons House of Parliament have ever regarded as resting exclusively with them, viz. the extent of the supply proper to be granted for the exigencies of the government. The law of parliament on this subject being very clearly laid down in the elegant Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, the committee will refer to his authority, and with the greater confidence, because on political questions he has not been suspected of partiality for the popular branch of the constitution; yet he observes, "If the two Houses of Parliament, or either of them, had avowedly a right to animadvert on the King, or each other, or the King had a right to animadvert on either of the Houses, that branch of the legislature so subject to animadversion would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power, the balance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch or branches in which this jurisdiction resided would be completely sovereign. The supposition of law therefore is, that neither the King, or either House of Parliament collectively taken, is capable of doing any wrong." He adds, that such cases being out of the reach of express legal provisions, "if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies." It is the painful duty of the committee, in obedience to the orders of the House, to suggest the proper remedy in the new emergency arising out of this speech: following the precedents established by the wisdom of our ancestors, and uniformly acted upon by the House of Assembly, the committee recommend to the House to come to the following resolutions:—**RESOLVED**, That the loyalty and patriotism of his Majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of this island, have ever been most conspicuous, and that their representatives could at no time be justly charged with refusing the supplies necessary for the support of government and the defence of the country, from motives of disaffection.—**RESOLVED**, That, in the session of 1803, this House granted for the service of the following year 311,040l.: That a large proportion of the money voted was for the expense of the army and navy.

rack department, which were fully provided for to the extent for which the faith of this country is pledged.—**RESOLVED**, That nothing but an anxious desire to aid and support the government, to the utmost of our ability, could have induced the House to vote so large a supply in the distressed situation to which our constituents were reduced.—**RESOLVED**, that the assumption of any branch of the legislature, of a right to animadvert in any manner upon this House, in the exercise of its rightful powers as a component part of the same legislature, and more especially in matters of supply, is unconstitutional, and, if submitted to, would destroy the independence of this House, and the legislative constitution of the island.

**JAMAICA LEGISLATURE.**—*Extract of a Letter from Lord Camden, dated 7th June, 1804, to the Lieut.-Governor of Jamaica, and communicated by him to the House of Assembly on the 13th of December, 1804, relative to Preachers in the Island.*

SIR,—I herewith transmit to you an order of His Majesty in Council, dated the 23d of April last, disallowing an act passed by the Legislature of the island of Jamaica in December, 1802, intitled, "An act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law," and a further order of His Majesty in council of the same date, to which is annexed the draft of a bill upon the same subject, which, in compliance with the directions conditioned in the said order, I am to desire you will take an early opportunity of proposing to the Assembly to be passed into a law.

**JAMAICA ASSEMBLY.**—*Message relative to Intercourse with America, dated 13th December, 1804.*

House resolve, that it appearing, by an order of His Majesty's council, dated the 21st of November last, and published in the Royal Gazette, that his Honour be advised to signify to the officers of His Majesty's customs in the respective ports of entry and clearance of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the present date, the resolution of council of the 17th July 1800, is to be no longer considered in force, and it being evident that the interruption of the intercourse between this island and the United States of America cannot fail to be highly detrimental, the following message be sent to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.—**MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR**,—We are ordered by the House to wait on your Honour, and to request that you will be pleased to

lay before the House such papers and documents as may have induced the council to advise your Honour to signify to the principal officers of His Majesty's customs at the several ports of this island, that from and after the expiration of six months, to be computed from the 21st of November last, the resolution of the board of the 17th July, 1800, is to be no longer considered in force. (*N. B. The order of council relative to which these documents are demanded, will be found in the present volume of the Register, p. 208.*)

**JAMAICA LEGISLATURE.**—*Resolutions approving of the meritorious Conduct of Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth. Dated 17th December, 1804.*

Resolution agreed to *nem. con.* that the thanks of this House be presented to Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. for the effectual protection afforded to the commerce and coasts of this island, by his able and disinterested distribution of His Majesty's naval forces under his command; and that he be requested to accept a sword as a testimony of the high sense entertained by this House of the eminent services he has thereby rendered to the country.—**Mr. Speaker** ordered to transmit to Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. a copy of the above resolution.—To direct the Receiver-general to remit to Edmund Pusey Lyon, Esq. the agent of this island, the sum of 1000 guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B.

**JAMAICA LEGISLATURE.**—*Resolution relative to the Interference of the Board of Trade, in the internal Concerns of the Colony. Dated 17th December, 1804.*

To send a message to his honour the Lieutenant Governor, to acquaint him, that in consequence of his Honour's message of the 12th instant, accompanied with a report from the Lords of Trade and Plantations to His Majesty, and an order of His Majesty in council thereupon, the House have maturely weighed the purport of the proposition recommended to them, to enact into a law the bill framed by that board for the prevention of unlicensed preachers in this island; but are of opinion, that any attempt by that board or of any other to direct or influence the proceedings of this House in matters of internal regulation, by any previous proposition or decision on what is referred to of under their consideration and deliberation, is an interference with the appropriate functions of the House, which it is their bounden duty never to submit to.





JAMAICA LEGISLATURE. — *Copy of Lord Camden's Letter upon the subject of American Intercourse, upon which the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica founded his Order of Council of the 21st of November, 1804. (See also his Answer to the Assembly, in this Volume, p. 210.) Dated 17th December, 1804.*

[COPY.] — *Downing-street. 5th September, 1804.* — SIR, — In consequence of a report of the committee of His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, I am to instruct you not to open the ports of the island over which you preside for the admission of articles from the American States, which are not allowed to be imported by law (except in cases of real and very great necessity), and not to fail to apprise me, in every instance wherein you shall so do, and to state at the same time the reasons which induced you to adopt the measure, taking care also, in every proclamation which shall be issued for this purpose, to insert conditions which shall prevent importations being made from the States of America on more favourable terms, as to duties on entry, than on similar importations from the British colonies in North-America, where any such duties are due and payable. — I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, — CAMDEN. — Lieut.-Governor Nugent, &c. &c. &c.

JAMAICA LEGISLATURE. — *Address of the Assembly of Jamaica to His Majesty, upon the Subject of the Prohibition of the Intercourse with America. Dated 18th December, 1804.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty. The humble address of the Assembly of Jamaica. — Most Gracious Sovereign, We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, most humbly beg leave to submit to your Majesty's consideration the very serious and alarming evil, which threaten this colony from a Resolution of Council, dated 21st November, 1804, announcing a termination after six months from that date, of the intercourse which has been permitted, in times of war, betwixt America and this island. — The ruinous and fatal consequence, inseparable from such a measure, we have deprecated in an humble address to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor, to which we have been impelled by existing facts and the most urgent and imperious necessity, which a continuance of the reciprocal interest of the parent state and this island, and of the very existence of the latter, could dictate. — We have, how-

ever, the mortification to state to your Majesty, that our application has been refused; and, as his Honour's answer to our address informs us, in obedience to the imperative orders transmitted from England by your Majesty's ministers. — Conscious that the wisdom of your Majesty's council never direct and persist in orders inconsistent with both general and individual welfare, suffer us, most gracious and beneficent Sire, with the utmost humility, and with hearts replete with gratitude, loyalty, and affection, for the many inestimable blessings we have ever experienced under your Majesty's most auspicious reign, to represent to your Majesty that in times of war, we cannot, without a permission of this intercourse with the American States, procure the articles of lumber necessary for carrying on the business of our plantations, and for packages to convey the various produce of the colony to the markets of Great-Britain and Ireland, nor the provisions wanted for our own subsistence, but more especially so for that of our negroes, besides the accommodation which your Majesty's forces on this station, both by sea and land, derive from thence; that the British North-American colonies cannot furnish these supplies; and that, in time of war, British vessels and British seamen, cannot be procured to carry on this trade. — Permit us, august Sire, while we presume to lay before you these our most humble and earnest solicitations for the continuance of this intercourse, to express our fullest confidence that it only requires to make known to your Majesty the grievances of your faithful and loyal subjects, however distant from the seat of empire, when your royal and paternal regard will direct the proper relief.

JAMAICA LEGISLATURE. — *Prorogation of the Assembly, 18 Dec. 1804.*

Gentlemen of the Council, — Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly, — Having passed the bills which have been presented to me, I grant you the recess which the season of the year requires. — Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly, — I return you my thanks for your dispatch of the public business. — Gentlemen of the Council, — Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly, — I have very great satisfaction in acquainting you that the fortifications of this island are about to be put in the best state of defence, and I have only to recommend to you that vigilance and attention in your respective parishes, both in your

military and civil capacities, so requisite at all times for the security and tranquillity of the island, but most particularly so at a period when, in the event of a war with Spain, the situation of this colony may be rendered much more critical than on former occasions. I do now, in His Majesty's name, prorogue this General Assembly until Tuesday the 29th January next, and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

**INLISTING FROM THE MILITIA.**—*Resolutions of Militia Officers, relative to the intended Measure of inlisting Men from the Militia into the Regular Army; entered into at a Meeting convened by Public Advertisement, at the Thatched House Tavern, on Thursday, the 7th of March, 1805.*

## PRESENT.

Marquis of Buckingham, Lieut. of Bucks.  
 Marquis of Douglas, Colonel Royal Lanark Regiment.  
 Earl of Derby, Lieut. of Lancashire.  
 Earl of Eglington, Lieut. of Ayrshire.  
 Earl of Fitzwilliam, Lieut. East Riding Yorkshire.  
 Earl of Fortescue, Lieut. of Devon.  
 Earl of Carnarvon, Col. Wiltshire Regiment.  
 Earl of Romney, Lieut. of Kent.  
 Earl Temple, Col. Royal Bucks Regiment.  
 Viscount Bulkeley, Lieut. of Carnarvonshire.  
 Lord Stanley, Col. 2d Royal Lancashire Regiment.  
 Lord Montgomerie, Col. Ayrshire Regiment.  
 Lord Folkestone, Capt. Berkshire Regiment.  
 Lord Ebrington, Major N. Devon Regiment.  
 Lord G. Cavendish, Col. Derbyshire Regiment.  
 Lord Grantley, Col. 1st Royal Surrey Regiment.  
 Lord Braybrooke, Lieut. of Essex.  
 Lord Cawdor, Col. Royal Carmarthen Regiment.  
 Hon. J. W. Grimston, Major Hertfordshire Regiment.  
 Hon. H. Walpole, Col. West Norfolk Regiment.  
 Sir C. Bampfylde, Capt. 1st Somerset Regiment.  
 Sir W. W. Wynne, Lieut. Denbigh and Merioneth.  
 Sir W. Lennox, Col. Royal Cornwall Regiment.  
 W. Braddell, Col. 3d Royal Lancashire Regiment.  
 J. Calcraft, Major, Dorset Regiment.  
 B. Cooke, Col. 3d West York Regiment.  
 R. Ellison, Lieut.-Col. Royal North Lincoln Regiment.  
 W. Frankland, Lieut.-Col. North York Regiment.

W. L. Hughes, Lieut.-Col. Royal Anglesa Regiment.

T. Stanley, Col. 1st Royal Lancashire Regiment.

J. Lowther, Col. Westmorland Regiment.

The Marquis of Buckingham having been called to the chair,—Several of the lieutenants of counties, and officers of militia, who were present at the meeting convened by Mr. Pitt, on Friday, March 1st, for the purpose of considering a plan for recruiting the army from the militia, by directing the general officers commanding brigades to notify to the militia regiments the powers to be given by law to the privates to enlist for life in such regiments of the line as may be named to receive them, at a bounty of ten pounds, and for general service, stated to this meeting the conversation that then passed, and the objections almost universally made by every lieutenant of county and militia officer then present, to a measure from which they apprehend the most fatal consequences, as being subversive of every principle on which the militia can exist with advantage to the country; and it having been further stated, that at the said meeting Lord Romney proposed that government should be advised to disembody (under the existing law) such part of the militia as exceeds 40,000 men in England, and 8000 men in Scotland, and that in such case, and so soon as the respective colonels shall have disembodied such proportion of their men, the army should be enabled by law to recruit from and out of the portion so disembodied in the manner practised in the last war.—**RESOLVED**, 1st, That the inlisting into the regular army of men from the militia is subversive of that establishment, and a violation of the principles on which it was formed.—**RESOLVED**, 2d, That we have reason to fear that this proposition (as we now understand it) will overthrow the first principle of the militia, by leading gentlemen of the first consideration to decline that service.—**RESOLVED**, 3d, That the measure suggested by the Earl of Romney tends to remove some of the important objections to the system proposed by government, and might be entertained although this meeting agrees with his lordship, that it does not remove all the constitutional objections to it.—**RESOLVED**, 4th, That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to Lord Romney for his constant attention to the constitutional establishment of the militia, and for his particular services and suggestions on this occasion.—**RESOLVED**, 5th, That government having expressed the wish of collecting the opinions of the lieutenants of counties and



officers of militia, on the subject of the plan opened by Mr. Pitt, a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by our chairman as their opinion, by letter, directed to him in London, on this interesting matter, for the information of this meeting, to be communicated afterwards to the secretary of state for the home department, and to the chancellor of the exchequer.—**RESOLVED**, 6th, That this meeting be adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.—**RESOLVED**, 7th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Marquis of Buckingham, their chairman.

#### FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

**FRENCH GOVERNMENT.**—*Proceedings between the Emperor Napoleon and the different Public Bodies.*—*Paris, 11 Feb. 1805.*

Yesterday, at noon, the great officers of the legion of honour, to whom his Majesty has granted the grand cordon, having been convoked by the great chancellor, repaired in grand costume to the Palace of the Thuilleries, and met in the saloon, preceding the hall of the throne. His Majesty being seated on the throne, the princes, and grand dignitaries took their places in front of the throne. The grand chancellor, and the grand treasurer were placed on his right and left. The grand master of the ceremonies having taken the orders of the Emperor, then invited successively the princes and grand dignitaries to approach the throne, to receive from the hands of his Majesty the decorations which have been presented by the grand chancellor, and the grand treasurer. The princes and grand dignitaries having afterwards taken their accustomed places on the right and left of the throne, the grand master of the ceremonies introduced one after the other the great officers comprised in the imperial decree of the 12th of this month; they received successively from the hands of the Emperor the grand cordon of the legion of honour, and resumed to the right and left the places assigned to them, agreeable to the functions with which they are invested.—The grand master afterwards introduced the Prince Borghese, who, in like manner, received the grand decoration from the hands of his Majesty.—The Emperor sitting, and covered, then spoke in these words:—"GENTLEMEN,—The grand decorations brings you near the throne without requiring from you new oaths; it imposes on you no new obligations. It is a completion of the institution of the legion of honour. This grand decoration has also a particular object; that of con-

necting with our institutions the institutions of the different states of Europe: and to show the regard and respect that I have, and that we have, for what exists among the neighbouring nations, our friends."—At two o'clock a deputation from the legislative body was introduced by the grand master into the hall of the throne, where were present the princes, grand dignitaries, ministers, marshals, and great officers of the empire, the senators and counselors of state. M. Fontanes, the president, read the address of the legislative body: to which the Emperor, sitting, and covered, replied in the following words:—"Gentlemen, deputies of the departments to the legislative body. When I resolved to write to the King of England, I made a sacrifice of the most legitimate resentments, and the most honourable passions. The desire of sparing the blood of my people raised me above the considerations which usually determine men. I shall always be ready to make the same sacrifices. I have placed my glory and my happiness in the happiness of the present generation. I wish, that as far as my influence may extend, that the reign of philanthropic and generous ideas may be the character of the age. It is for me—to whom such sentiments cannot be imputed as a weakness—it is for you—it is for the mildest, the most enlightened, the most humane people, to remind the civilized nations of Europe, that they only form one family, and that the efforts they employ in their civil dissensions, are only attacks on the common prosperity.—Gentlemen, deputies of the departments to the legislative body, I rely on your assistance, as in the bravery of my army."—The deputation of the legislative body having retired, the grand master of the ceremonies introduced the tribunate in a body, when M. Fabre, the president, read an address; to which his Majesty returned the following answer:—"Gentlemen members of the tribunate,—The present generation has need of happiness and repose. Victory is obtained only by the blood of the people. The happiness of mine is my first duty as it is my first sentiment. I feel in the most lively manner all that you have said. The most delightful recompence for all the good that I may have done, will always be to me the union and love of this great people."

**LETTER FROM NAPOLEON to the Landamman of Switzerland, dated 14th January, 1805.**

TO OUR GREAT AND DEAR FRIEND THE  
LANDAMMAN OF SWITZERLAND.

"Very dear and great friend,—At the  
"moment when it pleased Divine Provi-  
"dence to call me to the throne of France,  
"nothing could be more pleasing to me,  
"than the expression of the sentiments with  
"which you participate in the event. Your  
"deputies have delivered your letter of con-  
"gratulation, and in the manner in which  
"they have discharged their mission, have  
"fully justified the confidence you placed  
"in them. During their stay here, they  
"have been able to assure you of my un-  
"changeable intentions to preserve the  
"friendly relations between the two states.  
"I wish they may convey to you these as-  
"surances, as also those of my esteem and  
"regard for you. I pray God, my dear and  
"great friend, to have you in his holy keep-  
"ing." (Signed) NAPOLEON.

FRENCH FINANCES.—*Report of a Discus-  
sion and Statement in the Legislative Body  
of France, 21 Feb. 1805.*

The order of the day was read for the  
discussion of the bill presented on the 22d  
Pluviose, concerning the finances of the  
year 13.—M. ARNAUD, orator of the  
section of finances, investigated the bill un-  
der these four points of view: 1. The divers  
distributions of funds anterior to the current  
year. 2. The expense of the political estab-  
lishment during the year 13. 3. The ways  
and means, or receipts in the year 13. 4.  
The present views of amelioration and fore-  
cast for the year 14; he successively pre-  
sented, under these heads, all the general  
and particular reflexions made by the section  
of the finances of the Tribunal. We shall  
notice the 2d and 3d heads, as being the  
most important ones.

*Expenses of the Political Establishment  
during the Year 13.*

The Expenses of the Political Establishment is  
fixed by Art. VIII, IX, X, Cap. IV. of the present  
Bill, at a sum for the year 13, of . 684,000,000 fr.

The general amount of these Ex-  
penses for the year 12, with the  
augmentation which has been ac-  
counted for, is . . . . . 762,000,000

Whence it follows that the Ex-  
pense of the Political Establishment  
in the year 13, is less than that of  
the year 12, by . . . . . 78,000,000

M. Arnaud then examined in what pro-  
portion the different branches of public ser-  
vice are diminished.—Such a diminution,  
said he, which leaves, to our means of de-  
fence against the enemy their full activity, a  
diminution from which the service of no  
administration nor any interior amelioration

will suffer, a diminution which exists after  
our consideration abroad has been insured by  
a formidable establishment of land and sea  
forces, by means of the abundance of the  
ordinary and extraordinary receipts of the  
year 12, such a diminution forms the com-  
pletest eulogy of the creative and restora-  
tive genius of the destiny of the French  
empire. The section of the finances of the  
Tribunate cannot therefore but congratulate  
itself on submitting to the approbation of the  
Legislature, cap. iv. of the present bill,  
which exhibits such a glorious, and at the  
same time economical employment of the  
public taxes.—M. Arnaud then presented  
the ways and means, or receipts of the year  
13.—The following is the estimate pre-  
sented by the accounts of the minister of  
finances, with regard to the effective pro-  
duce of the year 12, and to the circum-  
stances which must have an influence upon  
the same returns during the year 13.

ORDINARY REVENUE.

Land, Personal and Sumptuary Taxes, Tax on move-  
bles, additional centimes for fixed expenses, paid  
into the public treasury, doors, windows, and  
patents, amounting in all to . . . . 290,806,678 fr.  
Regie of enregisterment, domains  
and national woods, custom-  
houses, lotteries, united duties,  
mint, divers accidental receipts  
upon estimates . . . . . 288,448,522

Total of the ordinary revenues 579,319,200

EXTRAORDINARY RECEIPTS.

Portion of Interest of the  
public debt of the ci-  
devant Piedmont, re-  
imbursable by the  
Italian Republic . . . . 3,000,000 fr.  
Anterior Taxes in the  
year 9, . . . . . 3,000,000  
Securities of receivers-  
general and particular  
appraisers, notaries,  
bailiffs of the tribunals,  
attornies, huissiers,  
change brokers, and  
these persons em-  
ployed in the regie  
of united duties . . . . 36,000,000  
Sale of domains . . . . 20,000,000  
Exterior means . . . . 22,000,000

84,000,000 }  
One-tenth, as in the year  
12 upon the Land-Tax 20,690,500 } 104,690,500  
Total, equal to the ways and means  
in the year 13 . . . . . 684,000,000

The fourth head relates to ameliorations  
projected for the year 14: and will arise  
from a definitive organization of public in-  
struction and upon the organization of the  
regia of the united duties.—M. Ar-  
naud then concluded his speech by the fol-  
lowing observations:—"The section of the



finances of the Tribunal feels a satisfaction in proclaiming the perfect accord which subsists between the prerogative of the throne and the right of the Legislative power, at a moment when acclamations welcomed by the Tribunal, have elevated to the empire the great Napoleon. Yes, gentlemen, this is the first time since that memorable period, that you are called on to seal with the Legislative power the alliance of the throne under the fourth dynasty, with the free and annual votes of supplies. It is in this character of emancipation of the property and industry of Frenchmen that consists the guarantee of the glory and duration of the dynasty of the Buonapartes, who have conquered our hearts in as much as they have cemented our rights.—Gentlemen, I believe I have clearly stated to you that the present bill regulates the distribution of the returns anterior to the year 13, and provides for the urgent expenses of war, by sufficient receipts to keep up such a formidable establishment by land and sea as cannot fail of giving weight to future negotiations for peace.—Lastly, you will not fail to remark that the concluding heads of the bill will be the means of conducting the financial administration towards a system of amelioration, gradually progressive.—The section of finances of the Tribunal, actuated by these considerations, proposes to the Legislative Body, the adoption of the present bill.—No orator from the Council of State, or Tribunal speaking, the discussion was closed.—The members then proceeded to give their votes upon the bill passing into a law, when it was decreed by 260 against 12.

*General Result of the Accompts of the Treasury for the Year XII.*

RECEIPTS.

Direct Taxes .....	327,680,248
Of the Enregistrement and of Custom Houses.	
Divers Products .....	191,691,727
National Woods .....	45,600,284
Alienation of National Domains ....	6,284,387
Produce of the Regies and Administrations.	
Of the Custom Houses .....	40,287,013
Of the Post Offices .....	8,946,876
Of the Mint .....	4,283,639
Of the Lottery .....	15,659,401
Of the Salt-Pits .....	2,700,000
Divers Receipts .....	27,692,151
Extraordinary and Exterior Receipts ..	141,178,023
	809,203,751
Produce of Effects negotiated or recovered.	
By the Sinking Fund .....	1,493,768
By the Administration of Enregistrement	1,400,445
	812,097,964

EXPENSES.

Public Debt and Pensions .....	94,827,653
The Emperor's Household .....	4,686,067
Ministry of War .....	187,406,074
Administration of War .....	124,504,903
Marine .....	213,519,056
Interior .....	57,648,196
Worship .....	5,232,057
Finances .....	40,173,895
Public Treasure .....	6,607,208
Exterior Relations .....	7,506,096
Justice .....	41,717,458
General Police .....	194,887
Expense of Negotiations .....	19,308,075
	613,462,887
Divers Disbursements .....	2,337,110
Total Expenses .....	815,800,327

REFUSAL OF BANK NOTES.

SIR,—I am much obliged to Agricola (See p. 3) for the attention he has paid to my queries, and for the trouble he has taken in answering them; at the same time, I must observe, that there appears to me a more summary method of acting applicable to the first query, viz by commencing an action against the chief clerk of the court upon the cheque, given for the amount of the debt paid to him by the defendant, which, I presume, the banker upon whom it is drawn will refuse to pay in specie. As the costs of such action must be paid by the chief clerk, it would necessarily induce him to direct, that in future no money should be received into court, unless paid in specie, and thus not alone would satisfaction be obtained in the particular case, but the paper system would receive a deep, if not a deadly wound.—Now I am writing you will permit me to observe, that in the latter part of Agricola's letter, he has fallen into a very considerable error. The act of parliament passed for the purpose of alleviating, in some degree, the severity of the laws, which admit of imprisonment for debt, does not at all take away the necessity of *special bail*; it only provides, that instead of *giving bail to the sheriff*, a person, on being arrested, may pay the sum sworn to be owing, into the hands of that officer, together with a certain sum for costs, and in default of special bail being put in in due time, the debt, together with the taxed costs, will be ordered by the court, on motion, to be paid to the plaintiff. If special bail be regularly put in then upon the like motion, the money will be ordered to be repaid to the defendant. In order to try the merits of the action, special bail must, of necessity, be put in; and, therefore, in no instance, does a plaintiff lose any part of the security to which he was entitled

previous to the passing of that act. The permission to make the lodgment in bank notes is entirely referable to the bank restriction act, and any loss which may arise on that account, must be registered amongst the number of *good* things which that act has occasioned. But, in truth, no evil can arise to a plaintiff from the lodgment being made in bank notes, for he is certainly not bound to accept from the sheriff any thing but specie; and, therefore, should any loss be sustained by the depreciation of bank paper, it must be borne by that officer. — In a practical point of view, perhaps, nothing can be more embarrassing and dangerous than the ambiguous and deceitful way in which bank notes are now considered as a payment. It is true, that a man who tenders the amount of a debt in bank paper cannot be afterwards arrested for that debt, but such tender does not at all prevent the creditor from commencing an action against him; and thus, by this half measure of the legislature, a debtor may be put to an immense expense, at the option, and merely to gratify the revenge of an obdurate creditor. He cannot procure specie from the Bank, and his creditor will accept of nothing else. He is perfectly remediless, and has not even the privilege of going to jail; for the creditor will issue his execution against his goods, and not against his person. The creditor will be justified in selling property worth, I will say, £300 in paper money, for £200, or even £100, in order to procure specie: and, indeed, I know not that any extent of loss would make him liable to punishment; and, thus a man might be absolutely ruined, without any possibility of redress or prevention. Every man who contracts a debt tacitly promises to pay it in legal coin, and if the creditor insist upon such payment, he is strictly right in so doing. It is no fault of his that the government has given any corporate body a right of issuing paper, without being bound to repay it in specie, and yet have declined to make such paper a legal payment. Should the Bank Paper ever be refused payment, (which no man can tell how soon may be the case) the public injury would for a time, be incalculable. Each man would then insist upon payment in a coin liable to no depreciation, and no man would be able so to pay. The trading part of the community must inevitably be ruined. It is true, that upon a representation of these effects to the legislature, some new regulation would be made: but, who does not know, what immense loss and injury might be sustained, before such a measure could be agreed upon and passed into a law. For

my part, I know of no other measures that are passed quicker than the ordinary forms of practice allow, except acts for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, for the proclaiming of martial law, and such like popular measures. It is now alone, however, that there is an opportunity, in some degree, to avert these alarming consequences. The evils I have described are yet in embryo, and with attention may be crushed in the bud: let them attain a little more strength, and nothing will be able to prevent their growing to their full extent. As a trifling flake of snow which, when it first begins to move, might be stopped with a feather, in its progress down the Alps, increases to a size so as to overpower all resistance, and cause the most horrible destruction; so will this system increase, until it absolutely overwhelms the kingdom in ruin. It must be concluded, that these things are not unknown to ministers; and yet, if they are known, why are they not placed beyond the possibility of happening? Is it want of boldness or of sense that induces them to be so indolent and inattentive? God knows, that in some cases they display no want of boldness. How far they may be in want of sense, it is not, perhaps, prudent to say. Time will, however, show, and it seems that to time we must look for all remedy. — With regard to the act “for the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests and suits,” instead of objecting to it, those who are in any wise acquainted with the evils which it was intended to remedy, will think the original framers and promoters of it entitled to no small share of public praise and approbation. — I am, Sir, &c.

CRITO.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION. — The Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine into, and report upon, the grounds of the petition of certain freeholders of the county of Middlesex, made their report to the House, on the 5th instant, which report places Sir Francis Boddett in that seat, out of which, to the great injury and disgrace of the county, he has been kept during the former part of the session. — It will be remembered, that there were, upon this subject, two petitions presented to the House of Commons, by the freeholders in the interest of Sir Francis Burdett; but, the petition which produced the report we are now speaking of, was presented by Lord William Russell, on the 25th of January; and, as it should now be read through with attention, it may be useful to remind the



reader, that it is inserted in the present volume, p. 161. That petition states, that Sir Francis Burdett ought to have been returned to serve in this present parliament, and that the Sheriffs did, illegally, wrongfully, wilfully, and falsely declare the majority of numbers to be in favour of Mr. Mainwaring, and illegally, wrongfully, wilfully, and falsely returned Mr. Mainwaring to serve for the said county in the present parliament. This was denied by Mr. Mainwaring; and, thereon the parties were at issue before the committee, who were appointed to try the merits of the petition, and whose report thereon was in substance as follows: "That George Boulton Mainwaring was *not* duly elected, and ought not to have been returned; that Sir Francis Burdett *was* duly elected, and ought to have been returned; and, of course, that the petition against the said return was not frivolous and vexatious." Thus, then, the House of Commons have decided in favour of the petitioners; and, in that decision, the House has given its sanction to the statement of the petitioners relative to the conduct of the Sheriffs. Nevertheless, as if with a view of censuring and setting at defiance the House of Commons, the writers on the side of the Sheriffs (which writers, be it observed, are all ministerial ones) have most impudently put forward assertion upon assertion, that *no blame whatever is imputable to the Sheriffs*, for having made a return exactly the contrary of that which they ought to have made. The tone of these writers; the broad hints they throw out against the decision of the committee of the House of Commons; the reluctance with which they acknowledge that Sir Francis Burdett has a majority (for "such we must call it," say they, "since the committee has declared in his favour;") are well worthy of observation, particularly as they are descriptive of the dispositions of that mild and obedient race of beings, who have so long been representing their opponents as restless and turbulent men.—In order to form a true judgment relative to the conduct of the Sheriffs, we must look back to what passed during the election, and particularly at and towards the close of the poll.—It was, during the whole of the election, the constant practice of the committee of Mr. Mainwaring, to object indiscriminately to all votes tendered for Sir Francis Burdett in the afternoon of each day's poll. By this means the examination of these votes, by the Sheriffs, was frequently postponed till it was too late to decide on them that day, or till, by one means or other, the decision upon them was so long deferred, that they could

not be entered on the poll books till another day. Thus all those freeholders, who were unable to go to Brentford a second time, and who were put aside in this manner, were entirely deprived of their rights, and Sir Francis Burdett of their suffrages. As the poll drew towards a close, however, this postponing practice became the more dangerous to the interests of Sir Francis Burdett; for, it was evident, that, if the Sheriffs possessed the power and the right to *postpone* the admitting of as many as they pleased of the votes tendered for Sir Francis on the last day of the election, they did, in reality, possess the power and the right of preventing him from being elected, upon that occasion, as a member of parliament for the county of Middlesex. To guard against this, therefore, the counsel of Sir Francis Burdett demanded, on the last day of the poll a categorical answer from the Sheriffs as to the conduct they would ultimately pursue with regard to the postponed votes. Mr. Erskine was written to by these counsel for his opinion upon the subject; and his opinion was, that, if, at the hour appointed by law for the final close of the poll, there should be any votes tendered and not decided upon by the Sheriffs, the Sheriffs would be bound to decide upon them, and to include them (if fit to be included at all) in their counting up, previous to the making of their return to parliament.\* In this stage of the proceedings the Sheriffs were formally appealed to by several freeholders in the interest of Sir Francis Burdett; whereupon the Sheriffs declared, "that the votes actually tendered upon the poll-books for the one or the other candidate should be examined and decided on, before the declaration of the final numbers, provided the persons making such tenders came round to the Sheriff's box to substantiate their claims." Upon this assurance several freeholders acquiesced, and went round from the poll-books to the Sheriffs' box; and this declaration also satisfied the counsel of Sir Francis Burdett; and, at the close of the poll, supposed, of course, to include the good votes tendered and deferred upon the above declaration of the Sheriffs, there was a majority of *ten* for Sir Francis Burdett. The universal joy felt and expressed at this moment will be long remembered by all those who witnessed it. The next day, however (Thursday the 9th of August) a request in writing was made to the Sheriffs, signed by Mr. Mainwaring, Sir W. Gibbons, Mr. Rae, Mr. Mellish, and

\* See this correspondence in the *SPIRIT OF THE PUBLIC JOURNALS*, p. 786.

Mr. John Bowles, demanding that they should declare the numbers *as they stood on the poll at three o'clock on Wednesday*, and that they should make their return accordingly; and, to this demand the Sheriffs, notwithstanding their declaration of the day before, yielded, making, accordingly the return which has now been set aside by the House of Commons.—A remark made in the Morning Post at the time is so entirely to the purpose, that I cannot help transcribing it here. "Without taking up the cause of either party we cannot help regarding this decision as extremely irregular. It amounts to this: that the *mere objection*, however, groundless, precludes *the right of vote*; for, if an objection be made, and the decision of its force reserved till a period when there is no authority to decide, then the objection alone, however groundless, is decidedly fatal. Those persons who tendered their votes, and who, having a legal right to vote, were not allowed to give their suffrages, have legal remedies of course; but, speaking in the plain language of the constitution, we would ask, who can remedy the county for the privation of the representative it would have preferred?"† Indeed this was so plain, that none except those who were eager to procure a false return affected not to perceive it. That *wrong* was done to Sir Francis Burdett and to the county of Middlesex is a truth that even the writers in the SUN and the TIMES do not *now* attempt to deny. To *whom*, then, was this wrong to be ascribed? *Where* are the injured parties to look for redress? And what are the means, by which such injuries are, *in future*, to be prevented?—"The Sheriffs," say the SUN and the TIMES, "are perfectly blameless. The committee of the House of Commons have passed no censure upon their conduct." For argument's sake, allow this statement and the intended inference to be correct; allow, that the Sheriffs were so perfectly ignorant of the duties of their office, that they cannot fairly be made to answer for the wrong of which they were the instruments; allow that the counting of the hob-nails before the Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, was not, with respect to these two Sheriffs, a ceremony entirely useless; allow all this; but, is there, then, no responsibility *any where*? "The

† See SPIRIT OF THE PUBLIC JOURNALS for 1804, p. 807. All the principal writings, on both sides, relative to the Middlesex Election, will be found in that work, between p. 648 and p. 846.

"Sheriffs acted by the advice of their assessor." Be it so: but this assessor is, surely, the responsible officer, then? "No: he was not Sheriff. He had *no power*." "He merely gave his *opinion*." Was his opinion binding on the Sheriffs, or was it not? If it was, he was the real possessor of the power, and, of course, is responsible for the wrong; if it was not, the Sheriffs acted from their own free-will, and therefore theirs is the responsibility.—If, by having recourse to the advice of their assessor, or any other counsellor, the returning officers at elections get rid of all the responsibility attached to a false return; and if, by such a course of proceeding, responsibility is *nowhere* to be found, what remedy can either the electors or the elected have against the wrongs that such officers may do? What security has the parliament against the intrusion of persons having no right to sit? "The House, by hearing and trying petitions will set false returns aside, as it has done in the present instance." But, is this enough? To say nothing about the probable conduct of a committee which should be in whole, or in part, composed of members seated by false returns, which sort of composition would frequently be met with, were the House once to adopt the monstrous doctrine of the irresponsibility of returning officers; to say nothing about this, is it a sufficient remedy to the wronged member and his constituents, that he is, after several months, perhaps after a whole session or two, at last seated where he ought to have been seated from the moment the election was ended? Can any one discover a *remedy* here? Can he discover that *redress*, which the law invariably supposes to be provided for wrong done, either to the community, to bodies of men, or individuals? Besides, can the enjoyment of the right, even for the remaining part of the session, be obtained for nothing? for merely petitioning? Is not every application of this sort unavoidably attended with great uneasiness, trouble, and cost? Must not false returns, therefore, remain unimpeached, whenever the wronged party is destitute of great pecuniary means? And, if there be, at last, no responsibility; nothing effectually to deter returning officers from making false returns; if the law has, in such cases, no power to protect injured indigence against oppressive opulence; is it not evident, that the real question at an election is, not whether a candidate has a majority of votes, but whether he has a purse sufficient, either to gain the friendship or to defeat the enmity of the officer empowered to make the return?—The Sheriffs of



Middlesex have escaped upon the ground of an *error in judgment*; that is to say, profound ignorance of their duty. But, was the assessor equally ignorant? And, there is this awkward circumstance besides, that the Sheriffs finally did that which, the day before, they had declared their intention not to do. Far be it from me, however, to attempt to weaken the plea which has been made in their favour. I sincerely believe it to be well-founded; nor do I think, with some persons, that it can fairly be brought forward as an objection to Mr. Sheriff SHAW's pretensions to the offices of Lord Mayor and of East India Director, offices for which that gentleman appears to be, both by talents and disposition, eminently qualified. May London, while it pursues its present conduct, always have such magistrates; and may "our Empire in the East" always have such directors!—I should now make some remarks upon several of the publications that were made against the claims of Sir Francis Burdett, at and since the close of the election; and I should also state, more at large than I have hitherto found an opportunity for, the reasons on which I found the sincere desire which I entertain always to see Sir Francis Burdett a member of Parliament. This, however, shall be done the first opportunity that offers; and, in the mean time, it is not too much to ask of those hirelings who abused every one that attempted to assert the claims of Sir Francis Burdett; it is not, I think, now too much to ask them to confess that, thus far, at least, they were base calumniators.—Before I dismiss this subject, even for the present, I cannot help reminding the reader, that there is *another* petition from the freeholders in the interest of Sir Francis Burdett; and, that this petition rests upon grounds somewhat singular. The petitioners assert that Mr. Mainwaring, the sitting member, is not duly qualified; for that, he has not, they say, the qualification in point of property required by the law; and, that, as eldest son or heir apparent of a person duly qualified, he himself is not duly qualified, because, say they, "he is *not the eldest son or heir apparent of any person so qualified as aforesaid to serve as knight of the shire.*"\* Now, whether this allegation be well-founded, is more than would be proper here to say, in the present state of the proceedings; but, it is by no means unfair to presume, that, as the House of Commons have proved one of the petitions of these freeholders to be well-founded, the

other is not entirely unfounded. What the petitioners mean, when they say, that Mr. George Boulton Mainwaring is "*not the eldest son or heir apparent of any person*" duly qualified to be a knight of the shire; what they mean here one cannot very clearly perceive. Do they mean, that Mr. William Mainwaring, who has, till lately, been a knight of the shire ever since the auspicious dawn of the Pitt administration: do they mean that this gentleman, who, dislodged the father of Mr. Byng, is not, in point of property, duly qualified to be a knight of the shire? Or, do they mean to assert, that Mr. George Boulton Mainwaring is *not the son* of Mr. William Mainwaring? Or, do they mean to say that there is a son of Mr. William Mainwaring *older* than Mr. George Boulton Mainwaring? Be their meaning what it may, however, their words have thrown the "*Saints*" into the utmost consternation. The whole congregation are running about squalling like scalded cats, biting themselves and each other. They have the prudence, indeed, to confine their clamours to their holes. In public they say nothing. They take special care never even to mention this *second* petition in public. All their prints are as mute as fishes upon the subject. They will, I imagine, do very well to continue mute; or they will make some of their good credulous friends appear consummately ridiculous. They may rail against the petitioners as long as they please; they may cry out indelicacy and cruelty; but, they will cry to no purpose; for, it will occur to every one to ask: "who threw the "*first stone*?" Their pretension is, that they have a right to rip up every thing against their opponents, private as well as public, and that those opponents have no right to retaliate, no, not even for the purpose of obtaining justice; but, the friends of Sir Francis Burdett do not admit of this insolent pretension, and they have acted and are acting accordingly.

SUBSIDIES.—If the appearance of things upon the continent is not deceptions, Mr. Pitt's 5 millions, voted for the purpose of foreign subsidies, will not be wanted. To answer any good purpose, Austria or Prussia must take a part of it; but, if we may judge from the present apparent disposition of those powers, they will not take it from us. The remarks, upon this subject, contained in the *Moniteur* of the 1st instant will not inform us what the French government think; but, they will inform us what they wish the world to think; they will inform us what are the representations that the French diplomatic agents are making upon this head,

\* See the petition in p. 164 of the present volume.

and will enable us, in some degree, to determine what our conduct ought to be, in order to counteract those representations. "Mr. Pitt had no occasion," says the *Moniteur*, "for the vote of five millions. It has been well known for these two years, that if there be a prince so much the enemy of his house, his throne, and his people, to wish to sell his repose, the future destinies of his family, and the blood of his subjects, England is ready to pay him for them, with that gold acquired by monopoly, at the expense of all the people of Europe. The English government presents to the world the odious spectacle of the most profound immorality. Its agents, with their purses in their hands, pervade every cabinet, and the powers on every side reject with horror the money and the corruption which can produce nothing but misfortune and remorse. That England is disposed to furnish several hundreds of millions to the powers that would renew the struggle, is a known truth, which it was not necessary to proclaim anew. But what Mr. Pitt's vote manifests with equal clearness, is that state of blindness which does not permit him to see that Europe wishes for repose; and that if those who seek to plunge her again into a sea of doubt and uncertainty, should be overthrown in their turn, they would fall amidst the acclamations of all nations.—Money is useful to coalitions—we are not ignorant of it; but it is not with money that coalitions are made. Which is there of the great powers of Europe that does not spend in an active campaign double or treble what you can offer it? It spends besides the blood of its subjects; but that element never enters into your calculations.—It is by following a wise and measured policy, by having foresight in prosperity, by shewing ourselves ready to succour friends in distress, and to make sacrifices for their advantage, that we produce allies. That is not your custom, your only policy, the great Frederick said so long since, is to knock, purse in hand, at every door. But the fatal effects of that policy have been demonstrated by experience; keep your gold then; and if you be animated by the interest of your country, make peace, and assume, in peace, moderate principles. You will have time to pay your debt, and to insure yourselves in the possession of those immense riches you are accumulating; of those immense Indies which groan under your dominion.—The first steps and advances towards peace were made to you, and how did

"you reply to them? By placing at the opening of Parliament, invectives in the mouth of your Sovereign, by violating the secret of negotiations; which has clearly proved that you intended they should be ineffectual."—As for "invectives," one would think, that the French might be silent. But, this is their way; and they well know, that, upon the continent, we cannot reply to them. The violation of the "secrets of neutrality," of which they complain, they have no right to complain of; nor, at the bottom of their hearts, do they complain; for, it was the very thing they wanted our ministers to do, in order to afford them a plausible pretext for publishing Napoleon's letter to the King, and for making all those showy professions, which they have since made, in their several addresses and answers to one another, which have, doubtless, produced a most powerful prejudice in their favour. This it was easy to foresee; and, therefore, the pretext should not have been afforded them.—It is, indeed, true, that *mere money* will never purchase sincere and efficient allies. Allies are to be gained, as this writer says, by succouring our friends in distress, and by making sacrifices for them. Just the contrary of this conduct we fully exhibited at Amiens, of which the King of Sardinia and the Royalists of La Vendee will long be remembered as a melancholy proof.—Mr. Johnstone objected, the other day, to the additional duty upon salt; because its produce was destined to defray the interest of the loan made for subsidies, which subsidies, he said, would be of no service to the country. A very good objection to the tax, or to any other tax to the same amount; but, I think, a better would have been, that the produce of this tax went towards making up the six millions a year which are paid out of the taxes to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, which fund might stop during the war; for, it must be allowed to be perfectly ridiculous, to raise six millions in the year to enable commissioners to *lessen* the quantity of stock, and, in that same year, to *augment* that stock by a loan of six millions. Why not, all the time we are borrowing with one hand, hold the other hand still? What is the use of buying up a million's worth of stock in the morning, and creating another million's worth in the afternoon? I can see no end that it can answer, except that of making a good job for those persons, who are employed in the buying and selling. This, therefore, would be the ground of



my objection to new taxes, and also to the continuation of a part, at least, of the war taxes already imposed. Let the Sinking Fund stop during the war; and, if any one should really think it of any use, and should be able to persuade the parliament into his opinion, let it be revived, when we have no occasion to make loans. *This*, at any rate, is no singular notion; for, at the time when the project of the Pitt sinking fund was first under the consideration of parliament, Mr. Fox expressed his sorrow, that the fund was *not* to stop during war. — To return to the proposed subsidies; every cabinet upon the Continent must have at once seen through the object of voting the money beforehand, and so long before the usual time of voting the supplies. They were not so to be deceived. Mr. Pitt's war and Mr. Pitt's peace have made wary of Mr. Pitt and his big promises; and, it appears to be the opinion of every person at all acquainted with their sentiments, that they will never again venture upon a hearty co-operation with him.

THE FRENCH FLEETS. — We now find, that the Toulon fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line, seven frigates, and two corvettes, having between eight and nine thousand troops on board, has been out to sea, and has been forced back again by contrary winds from the east. From the circumstance of the troops being under the command of General Lauriston, it has been concluded, by some of the wise men of London, that the troops were destined for Egypt, and thence to our famous "empire in the East," because Lauriston was born in some factory on the peninsula of India! The intelligence of our Smyrna fleet having been captured, together with their convoy, by two French frigates, appears to be confirmed; and thus this sally has proved a subject of great exultation to the French. The Rochefort squadron is, in all likelihood, gone to the West-Indies; where, as was before said, they will be able to do great mischief. And, though we know it is impossible for all the vigilance in the world to prevent ships from sailing; yet, it ought to be remembered, that the French fleets did not sail, during the administration of Lord St. Vincent. The Melville admiralty has distinguished itself by a galeon harvest, it is true; but, when that harvest is over, there comes very often a famine. Some people thought, that a Spanish war would provide ample means for purchasing allies, wherewith to divert Napoleon's legions from their intended prey in Britain. But these honest and honourable men now find, to their great mortification,

without doubt, that the subsidies, if any body can be found to take them, must be raised in taxes, just the same as if no "measures of precaution" had been taken; just the same as if a single dollar had never been captured. — That people should be alarmed at the thought of a French fleet going to Egypt is natural enough; for, they may be assured, that one half of the few regular soldiers we have would be sent after them as soon as the expedition could possibly be fitted out; and, if Lauriston really was bound to Egypt, there can be little doubt, that thus to draw our regular army out of the kingdom was the sole object of the undertaking. The French government know well who are in power. They are perfectly well acquainted with the notions of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt; they know that Lord Sidmouth will not interfere in such matters; and, they would, therefore, make sure of leading us into another war in Egypt for the sake of our "Empire in the East." Nothing could suit their purpose so well as this. Not a man would it draw from the French shores along the Channel. There their preparations would be hastened; and, the moment our army was gone, they would think seriously of an attempt at invasion, either of England or Ireland. — One thing to be remarked is, the celerity with which the enemy can send out an army on ship-board. "Eight or nine thousand men!" And this done, too, and the fleet back again safe in port, before we heard a syllable of the matter; notwithstanding our 200,000l. or 300,000l. a year expended in secret service money! We have been talking of putting soldiers on board ship; any time these four months we have been talking of it. The transports have been sailing round and round about all the coast. The troops have marched and counter-marched, aide-du-camps and generals have been making the dust fly along the roads, and the newspapers have stunned us with notes of preparation. Yet, here we are, and not a man yet on board. Here we are the laughing stock of the enemy; that enemy, whom we represent as unable to put his nose out of port, and who, without our obtaining the least knowledge of his intention, sends a fleet to sea with eight or nine thousand troops on board! To what a state of imbecility, then, must we be reduced, if we still affect to believe, that there is *now* no danger; that our alliance has terrified the enemy, and that he is afraid to stir an inch! — It is worthy of remark, that, while so great and important a thing as the sailing of a fleet and an army escaped our knowledge,

the ministry could obtain very exact, and even minute information, relative to the "Irish committee sitting at Paris." One would think, that it was easier to discover the movements of twelve or thirteen battalions, especially from the land to the sea, than to penetrate the recesses of conspirators. But, the former is a sort of information, which we never obtain. It does not seem to be to our taste: It would make no figure in debate. — The ultimate object of Napoleon and his counsellors is to subdue England. They have laid their plan; and they adhere to it most steadily. They do not regard the loss of a fleet or of an army. Lauriston expected, probably, to be beaten in the long run, if he landed safely in Egypt; but, that would have been nothing, if, by such defeat, he weakened us at home. I wish the nation to be upon its guard against this lure; to think well betimes whether England ought to be exposed for the purpose of another war in Egypt; to remember that such a war can have no object but that of preserving India; and to decide, beforehand, whether, if that become the question, they will hazard England for the sake of India; whether they will run the risk of becoming slaves under a foreign yoke, rather than forego the honours which they derive from the existence of the East-India Company and its domineering train of nabobs.

#### SHERIFFS RAWLINS AND COX. —

After a very long and impartial inquiry into the conduct of these gentlemen during the election for the county of Middlesex in the year 1802, the House of Commons, did, on the 11th instant, order them to be committed to Newgate. Upon this event, the *Sun* newspaper has observed, that "the misconduct of the Sheriffs was, at length, so evident, that the leading men of the party who espoused their cause had too much regard for their own reputation to interpose any further in their behalf, when the final discussion took place." Now, I should be glad to know *what party* ever did "espouse their cause." No party ever did. No, nor scarcely any single member of parliament. Mr. Pitt thought it was unnecessary to hear their counsel at the bar. Mr. Fox and others thought it was necessary, and that justice demanded it; and, the House was of this latter opinion. It, however, their cause was "espoused," and was given up as soon as the proofs of their misconduct became evident, the "young friend" who writes in the *Sun* will not be astonished, if I express my wish, that, upon similar grounds, any *culprits, whose cause may hereafter be es-*

*poused by his friends,* may be as readily given up to the hands of public justice.

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS. — On the 6th instant, upon a motion of Mr. Sheridan, in the House of Commons, for a repeal of Mr. Pitt's Parish Army law, the House divided, after a long debate, for the repeal 127, against it 267, leaving a majority for the ministry of 140. — In the House of Lords, on the 7th instant, upon a motion of Lord King for the House to go into a committee upon the state of the military defence of the country, there were 52 for the motion, and 127 against it; leaving the ministry a majority of 75. — Upon this occasion, the Marquis of Strafford voted against the ministry, and, in so doing, preserved that honourable consistency, which the public expected him to preserve. It was this nobleman, who had given notice of a similar motion himself last year, which motion it must be remembered, the Addington ministry could not meet. His lordship little expected at that time, that the day would so soon come, when he would be compelled to quit Mr. Pitt, or, to give his voice in support of the very men, to turn out whom, upon the alleged ground of "*incapacity*" and "*imbecility*," was then his object as well as that of Mr. Pitt! When his lordship, during the first debate that took place after the Addington ministry was turned out, called Mr. Pitt "*a real giant refreshed*," he little imagined, that this giant was so soon to bend at the footstool of Mr. Addington. Lord Strafford would not have so bent, and the conduct of Mr. Pitt must appear to him to be such as he ought to express his disapprobation of. — On the 12th instant the House of Commons divided for the last time upon the Additional Salt-Duty Bill, when there appeared 92 for, and 54 against; majority for the ministry, 38. On the same day the additional tax upon draught horses was lost, there being, upon a division of the House, 73 for the ministry, and 76 against them. "The first financier in the world," as his creatures and hirelings call him, was not wont to lose his taxes! These are a sort of contests that the people ought to be desirous of seeing. They have been too long accustomed to see scores of millions voted to the minister, as if the votes were matters of course. We shall, perhaps, live to see the day, when members of parliament may once more dare to enquire, whether they ought to vote any supplies at all; at least, till they have seen the accounts of the preceding year. We sometimes congratulate ourselves that we are no longer under the Stuarts; and, indeed, if we con-



413] fine our view to a comparison between the two royal Houses, we may have great cause for congratulation; especially when we consider what James the Second might have done. But, I never can help remembering, that notwithstanding all the arbitrary disposition of the Stuarts, in every reign of the Jameses and the Charleses, the House of Commons did sometimes *refuse to grant the supplies* that the minister demanded of them. The supplies were not then voted as a mere matter of course. The House of Commons exercised the right of refusing, not only a particular tax, but all the money that the executive government wanted at its hands. No minister in the arbitrary days of the Stuarts, ever told the House of Commons: "I am sorry to tax the poor; but I have a *sacred duty* to perform; supplies *must be had*."—Ah! some one will say, but the circumstances were then very different. There was then no *public debt*! I know there was not. Is it, then, the public debt; the absolute necessity, real or imaginary, of discharging annually the interest of that debt; is it this that has taken all *discretion* from the House of Commons, as to the granting of supplies? Is it this that has, in effect, withdrawn the purse strings from their hands? And, must things always remain thus? Will the House of Commons *never more refuse a supply*? Shall every minister for the time being, be he who he may, and be his measures what they may; shall he, whatever be his internal arrangements, his negotiations, his connexions, his alliances, his wars, and his pacifications; shall he always instantly obtain from the House of Commons the sums he may demand? And, shall the future functions of that House, as to supplies, be confined to the *choosing between different taxes*; to the determining whether the minister is to be supplied out of the bread or broth of their constituents? If this be so, how quietly we have dropped down! And that, too, all the while we have been boasting of the great victory obtained for political liberty at the time when this system began! Let who will cry "*To-y*," these remarks I cannot forbear making; and I do hope, that, laying aside all these pitiful distinctions, all these watch-words of party, we shall now take a steady and impartial view of our situation; and, that there will somewhere be sound wisdom, energy, and public spirit sufficient to snatch us from the abyss, into which we are falling. But, this mighty deed is not to be performed by puny means. A victorious division upon a horse tax advances the public cause not a hair's

breadth. Even the turning out of Mr. Pitt would, of itself, be of no use. It is his system; or rather the funding and taxing system new-modelled and extended by him. As long as this system is continued to its present extent (and if it remain unchanged it must extend still further), it is a matter of perfect indifference with me, who is minister, being firmly persuaded, that, if the system continue, no combination of rank or talents can save the country from subjugation. In a new administration one might have great hope, because its members would not feel their reputation committed as to the Pitt system, most of the leading men, having, at different times, expressed their dissent, at least from certain parts of it. But, as to your politicians, who have merely "turn about is fair play" at their tongues ends; as to those gentlemen, who appear to have no ideas but what they have purloined from Mr. Pitt himself; who, for want of knowing how to dissent, admit all that he can possibly want admitted; who, in their stock-broker-like statements just afford him the opportunity of showing how wonderful wise he is and how wonderful foolish they are; as to this race of politicians, whose views extend no further than the giving of us a new set of tax-gatherers, clerks, and stock-brokers, if there be any sincere friend to his country who places confidence in them, who expects any good to arise from their getting possession of power, all that I will say of him is, that he is treasuring up for himself a most plentiful supply of disappointment and mortification. —I cannot close this article without expressing my astonishment, that the draught-horse duty should have been lost. Mr. Pitt's defence of it was an excellent specimen of that quickness, and that minuteness of statement, to which he owes so much of the admiration that is entertained of him amongst merchants, manufacturers, artizans, loan-jobbers, and other persons of vulgar minds. Mr. Plumer, the member for Hertfordshire it was that opposed the bill in a motion for reading it a third time that day six months. Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. Plumer: "I really do not think, that the tax will produce the pressure which some gentlemen apprehend. I believe the tax will fall on the consumer, and the increase it will here create in the price of the article of corn, will amount to a sum so trifling, that no one can think it any inconvenience to any body. The whole of the duty is estimated at £300,000, one-third of which will be borne by those who keep horses for trades in large towns,



“brewers and the like, so that the whole  
 “amount of the duty on husbandry is only  
 “£200,000. The amount of the rental of  
 “England alone is thirty-seven millions;  
 “including Scotland, it is forty millions  
 “sterling. The produce of land has been  
 “calculated under the mark many years  
 “ago, and since which great improvement  
 “has been made; in no case is it calcu-  
 “lated at less than three times the rent: in  
 “many it is five and six times that amount;  
 “but taking it moderately at four times  
 “the rent, the annual produce will then be  
 “one hundred and sixty millions sterling.  
 “Now, this duty is only one 750th part of  
 “that produce on the whole average of the  
 “kingdom; and taking the bill in its most  
 “objectionable shape in which gentlemen  
 “chused to put it, that is distinguishing the  
 “arable from pasture land, and taking it  
 “to be more on the arable than on the pas-  
 “ture, it will then be one 1000th part of  
 “the produce of the pasturage, and one  
 “500th on the arable land, and this, com-  
 “puting one quarter of corn to each indi-  
 “vidual in the kingdom in the year will  
 “amount only to an additional charge of  
 “*three-halfpence per annum*, a sum, I appre-  
 “hend not so alarming, nor any thing likely  
 “to check the growth of corn!”

“And still they star’d, and still the wonder grew,  
 “That one small head could carry all he knew!”

THE ATONEMENT, which Mr. Pitt made, in the recent debate upon the Parish-Army bill, ought to be particularly attended to by the public. It will not easily be forgotten, that, in the debate of the 18th of June last, Mr. Canning, by way of justification of his conduct, in having consented to make part of the new ministry, said: “I shall content myself with vindicating my own consistency. I objected to the administration of foreign affairs, and that has been changed.” He made, at the same time, a similar remark with regard to Mr. Addington’s office; but only what he said with regard to Lord Hawkesbury is applicable to the present purpose.—In consequence of my having, in p. 783 of Vol. VI, quoted the above passage of Mr. Canning’s speech, and expressed my admiration of that “hereditary disposition to office” which induced Lord Hawkesbury to remain in the ministry after such a declaration on the part of Mr. Canning, a friend of the latter wrote me a very angry letter (Vol. VI. p. 995), asserting that I was totally ignorant of all that had passed relative to Mr. Canning and Lord Hawkesbury, and accusing me of having made a

representation *disadvantageous* to the former. Whereupon, a little piqued at such saucy reproof, I revived the subject, and in Vol. VI. p. 1015, made the following statement. “I have been told what has passed; what I have been told I seriously declare, that I sincerely believe; and it is this: Mr. Canning having, on the 18th of June last, made use of the words above quoted from the Parliamentary Debates, Lord H. wrote to Mr. Pitt, signifying his displeasure at the conduct of Mr. Canning, and intimating the impossibility of his remaining in office under such a representation as was contained in the public declaration of the latter. Mr. Pitt, in answer, gave to the speech of Mr. Canning a favourable interpretation, and disclaimed any part, either directly or indirectly, in any thing tending to give to the removal of Lord H. the appearance of degradation. Mr. Pitt, at last, came to this decision: that, if Lord H. still looked upon the offence to be of so serious a nature as to prevent him from continuing in place with Mr. Canning, the latter should give way, or, in other words, be turned out. Mr. Canning, at the same time went to Lord H.” (and I now find that he went the third time before Lord H. saw him) “and gave such explanations as were calculated to heal the breach. Finally, Lord H. did not insist that Mr. Canning should be turned out;” (I now find that his lordship said, that he should not insist upon it upon private grounds; and that, if it was done, it ought to be upon public grounds); “but, by way of atonement to Lord H. it was agreed, that Mr. Pitt should take an opportunity of so speaking, in his place in parliament, as effectually to remove the impression, which Mr. Canning’s words were, in the apprehension of his lordship likely to have given.” This opportunity has now been taken, and the atonement has been made; as will appear from the following extract from Mr. Pitt’s speech of the 6th instant. “An arrangement had no doubt taken place in his Majesty’s government, and that arrangement was made with the free will and entire concurrence of that noble lord, and it was never proposed with any other intention.” [I am compelled to break off.—The *Sun* asserts, that the Catholic Petition has been offered to Mr. Pitt; and that, he having refused to present it, it will not be presented by the consent of the deputation. This is a falsehood; and a falsehood evidently intended to mislead the public.]